DATE: 11/04/2008 TIME: 8:57 A.M.

ACTIVITY: Rod Blagojevich home line incoming call.

SESSION: 171 and 173

SPEAKERS:

BLAGOJEVICH: Rod Blagojevich HARRIS: John Harris

\* \* \*

1	BLAGOJEVICH	Hey.
2	HARRIS	Hello.
3	BLAGOJEVICH	How's it goin'?
4	HARRIS	Okay, how are you?
5 6 7 8	BLAGOJEVICH	Alright. On the phone with Greenlee. Got a lot of stuff to think about today. We gotta work on this, tomorrow's schedule, what we do.
9	HARRIS	Right, right.
10 11 12 13	BLAGOJEVICH	So Politico.com p-, put out, put in that, uh, Andy Stern and Balanoff came to see me about Obama's choice for, uh, senator.
14	HARRIS	Oh, that's how
15	BLAGOJEVICH	Valerie Jarrett.
16	HARRIS	that's how they wrote it up?
17	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah.
18 19 20	HARRIS	Yeah, we should simply just say we meet with Andy and Balanoff often on a number of issues.
21	BLAGOJEVICH	Well, my point is
22	HARRIS	Yeah.

1 2 3 4	BLAGOJEVICH	that they probably got that from Andy Stern. That's a good sign. That would suggest he's an, you know, an emissary for Obama, right?
5	HARRIS	Mm-hmm. Mm-hmm.
6	BLAGOJEVICH	I mean possibly.
7	HARRIS	Yeah.
8 9 10	BLAGOJEVICH	I mean they could be emissaries for Valerie Jarrett but I got a feeling in this case it's not.
11 12 13 14	HARRIS	No, I don't think it's for Valerie as much as it is for Barack. But it still puzzles me why they wouldn't be a little bit more, uh, overt about it.
15 16	BLAGOJEVICH	I'll tell you why, because they don't want anybody to say that he's saying it.
17	HARRIS	Right.
17 18 19 20	HARRIS BLAGOJEVICH	Right.  They don't want a trick bag, he, he, they want to be very careful and protect him.
18 19		They don't want a trick bag, he, he, they want to be very careful and protect
18 19 20 21 22 23	BLAGOJEVICH	They don't want a trick bag, he, he, they want to be very careful and protect him.  Yeah, that's what we talked about last night. The probability of Obama trying, being overt about it is low because of
18 19 20 21 22 23 24	BLAGOJEVICH	They don't want a trick bag, he, he, they want to be very careful and protect him.  Yeah, that's what we talked about last night. The probability of Obama trying, being overt about it is low because of all the other people he'll piss off.
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	BLAGOJEVICH HARRIS BLAGOJEVICH	They don't want a trick bag, he, he, they want to be very careful and protect him.  Yeah, that's what we talked about last night. The probability of Obama trying, being overt about it is low because of all the other people he'll piss off.  Right.  But they did recommend to us, just call
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	BLAGOJEVICH HARRIS BLAGOJEVICH HARRIS	They don't want a trick bag, he, he, they want to be very careful and protect him.  Yeah, that's what we talked about last night. The probability of Obama trying, being overt about it is low because of all the other people he'll piss off.  Right.  But they did recommend to us, just call and put the question right on him.

1 2 3 4 5	HARRIS	Well, that's, that's contrary to the other indication. I mean if they, if they think Obama needs to be circumspect and that it, it's in his best interest to be circumspect, why would they ask us to call and put the question on him?
7 8	BLAGOJEVICH	Well, because you're not callin' Obama, you're callin' Axelrod, right?
9	HARRIS	Yeah, well I
10	BLAGOJEVICH	Axelrod's gonna speak for Obama.
11	HARRIS	yeah.
12	BLAGOJEVICH	But at the same time, protect him.
13	HARRIS	Right.
14 15 16 17	BLAGOJEVICH	So let's analyze that. So, tomorrow morning, I would call, I mean, first, I should call Axelrod and congratulate him, shouldn't I?
18	HARRIS	Sure, sure.
19	BLAGOJEVICH	Huh?
20	HARRIS	Sure.
21 22 23 24 25 26	BLAGOJEVICH	So I call him and congratulate him and then do I bring the Senate thing up or let him do it? I'll say, man, you guys, boy, historic, that's unbelievable, you played, you're in history books. Congratulations. You know.
27 28 29	HARRIS	I think if you call him to congratulate him, he'll raise it if he wants to talk about it.
30 31	BLAGOJEVICH	Right, and if he doesn't raise it, I don't raise it.
32	HARRIS	Correct.
33	BLAGOJEVICH	Right?

1	HARRIS	Correct.
2	BLAGOJEVICH	Okay.
3		(PAUSE)
4	HARRIS	Turn out's low in my precinct.
5		(Phone Beeps)
6	BLAGOJEVICH	Hang on a second, hang on.
7		(Call Waiting)
8		* * * *
9 10 11 12	BLAGOJEVICH	I never let 'em make the invite. 'Cause I never let 'em, I never let 'em get into a conversation to ask me anything. I just volunteered and said I'm comin'.
13		(PAUSE)
14	BLAGOJEVICH	He was, you know, happy about that.
15	HARRIS	Good. Good.
16		(PAUSE)
17 18 19 20 21 22	BLAGOJEVICH	So the, you know, the tricks gonna be how do ya conduct, indirectly, and with a certain reserve, you know, a negotiation like a sports agent, where you're pitting one team against another, you know what I mean?
23	HARRIS	(UI).
24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	BLAGOJEVICH	My free agent wants to play for the Cowboys, he wants to play for the Eagles. Okay. How much you offering Obama? What are you offering Madigan? You know what, we can always go to the, we can always go the 49ers with Emil, you know what I mean? We can always end up there. Or me.
32		(PAUSE)

1 2 3	HARRIS	Well one way to uh, one way to uh r-, you know, reduce the value of their play, of their hand
4	BLAGOJEVICH	Who's they?
5	HARRIS	The Obama camp.
6	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah.
7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	HARRIS	And just kind of ask him, what would ya, what do you, what would you recommend I look for in a senator. Rather than get to the name, get to the, let them, lock them in on a list of what they want. So that leaves you open to pick anybody that can meet that criteria including yourself. 'Cause what are they gonna say? They're gonna say, they want somebody that supports my agenda, that'll help me get things done blah, blah, blah. And the only tricky one is if they say we, we think we need an African American, because of uh my seat's an African American seat.
22	BLAGOJEVICH	They don't wanna be saying that.
23 24 25 26	HARRIS	They don't wanna be saying that so, like, how are they gonna say, they're simply gonna have to talk in big platitudes.
27 28 29 30 31 32	BLAGOJEVICH	Their not gonna say that. That's why they sent, uh, Balanoff and, um, Andy Stern to see us. I'm telling you they were sent by them. Those guys came at the behest of O-, Obama's people. I believe. And you know the, don't you?
33 34 35 36	HARRIS	Um, it's possible I'm just saying, I just, not quite sure why they need to be so indirect. I mean there's so many other people we have common friends.
37 38 39	BLAGOJEVICH	Because, it's pretty obvious. A, Obama doesn't want it getting out that he's pushing somebody.

1	HARRIS	Right.
2 3 4 5	BLAGOJEVICH	Okay, who's black. For Obama's pol-, politics. All of a sudden first black president the first thing he does is, I want a black senator.
6	HARRIS	Uh-huh.
7	BLAGOJEVICH	What does that say to uh?
8 9	HARRIS	(UI) after all the effort he went to to not make it about race.
10	BLAGOJEVICH	Right.
11		(PAUSE)
12	BLAGOJEVICH	Right?
13	HARRIS	Right?
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	BLAGOJEVICH	That's very obviously what he, what their, their concern is. And then the other thing is um, Balanoff and Stern they prefer not to have Jan and some of their other allies know that they're acting as, in a, in a rol-, in a p-process that could mean somebody other than them get the Senate seat.
22	HARRIS	Right.
23		(PAUSE)
24	BLAGOJEVICH	You think
25 26	HARRIS	Well then all that, all that plays into our favor then.
27	BLAGOJEVICH	What's that?
28 29 30	HARRIS	I mean we ought to assume that's the case, in either case. There's no reason to assume otherwise.
31	BLAGOJEVICH	Assume what?

1	HARRIS	That they were sent by Obama.
2	BLAGOJEVICH	Correct. That's right.
3	HARRIS	There's no risk in assuming otherwise.
4	BLAGOJEVICH	I think that's right.
5 6	HARRIS	I should say there's no risk in as-, in assuming that.
7	BLAGOJEVICH	Right.
8		(PAUSE)
9 10 11 12	HARRIS	We just want to get them a little more pregnant with us. We need to force 'em to be a little bit more overt. That enhances our ability to negotiate.
13	BLAGOJEVICH	Right.
14 15	HARRIS	Otherwise we're gonna be negotiating with thin air.
16 17 18	BLAGOJEVICH	Right and then how do ya get this Health and Human Services thing in there? How do we get that in the mix?
19 20 21 22 23 24	HARRIS	Well I thought, I thought the answer kinda revealed itself to us yesterday with the, uh, Andy Stern and Obama. I mean Andy Stern and Balanoff. They'd be the perfect emissaries for something like that.
25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah, I like that. When, when would you make the play? You, you wait for them to come to us or we come to them or we give it a little time and then see and if nothing happens we make the move or what? I mean once this happens, you know, all the supplicants begin the process of, you know, putting their hat in the ring for stuff and their supporters and others will be pushing hard.

1 2 3	HARRIS	I think you throw the call into Axelrod, either he raises the issue or he doesn't raise the issue.
4	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah so that's tomorrow morning right?
5 6 7	HARRIS	(UI). If he doesn't raise the issue, then I call him and I'm a little bit more direct. Right?
8	BLAGOJEVICH	You call him?
9 10 11 12 13 14 15	HARRIS	(UI). And I call him and say do you guys have a horse in the race? Um, ask him if they have a horse in the race? If he says, um, whatever he says to us, we report that back to Andy and say hey we took your advice we called him and this is what happened.
16 17 18	BLAGOJEVICH	This is good what you're saying, keep going.
19 20 21 22	HARRIS	And then uh, kinda keep them in the mix the whole time. And then I, I have a talk with uh, Balanoff about DHS, um, the secretary position.
23		(PAUSE)
24 25	BLAGOJEVICH	We'll know more about SEIU's role there right?
26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33	HARRIS	Right, and how, how much they want to remain engaged. And how much they want to remain engaged will indicate to us how important it is to Barack. Because if they simply say, oh that was nice, you called him, good, okay bye, you're, you guys are on your own now. You know what I'm saying?
34	BLAGOJEVICH	Mm-hmm.
35	HARRIS	I don't think they'll say that.
36		(PAUSE)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	HARRIS	And it's better if Andy if uh, if uh, David Axelrod tells us well yeah we have some ideas about what kind of person it ought to be. And it ought to be somebody that's gonna support Barack, but not name names and not say anything about African American then I think, uh, we report that back to Andy and to Tom and say this is what they said. So um, and we tell Andy and Tom, as far as were concerned, they don't have a preference. And see what happens from that, 'cause they'll report that back to the, uh, Obama camp that, you know, we're dumb as a box of rocks, we haven't picked up on any clues yet. They need to be a little bit more direct.
18	BLAGOJEVICH	(Laughs)
19		(PAUSE)
20 21 22 23	HARRIS	So we can play stupid the whole time, and make them be a little bit more direct. And once they become more direct we make our counter offer.
24		(PAUSE)
25 26 27 28 29	BLAGOJEVICH	I need a timeline, and I, I don't believe November 17th is anything I need to be careful, you know, mindful of. That's just way too soon. And this Delaware stuff I don't think matters.
30 31	HARRIS	I think, you know I think the real timeline is uh
32	BLAGOJEVICH	January.
33 34	HARRIS	between, um, December $15^{\rm th}$ and December $25^{\rm th}.$
35	BLAGOJEVICH	December 15 <sup>th</sup> and December 25 <sup>th</sup> ?
36	HARRIS	Yeah.
37	BLAGOJEVICH	What do you mean by that?

1 2	HARRIS	Well the $15^{\rm th}$ is the Electoral College, right?
3	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah.
4 5 6	HARRIS	Assuming now he's resigned before hand, if he doesn't resign then the timeline is whenever he resigns right?
7 8	BLAGOJEVICH	Keep going yeah. $25^{\rm th}$ , Christmas, what's that?
9 10 11	HARRIS	Just in the week after Christmas and New Year's no one's paying attention to anything.
12	BLAGOJEVICH	So do it then?
13 14 15	HARRIS	No, I'm saying I don't know if that's a good time to do it. If you're trying to make
16		(PAUSE)
17 18	BLAGOJEVICH	You're saying between the $15^{\text{th}}$ and the $25^{\text{th}}$ ?
19	HARRIS	Correct.
20	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah right
21	HARRIS	So that's gonna be when the negot-
22	BLAGOJEVICH	No, I see what you're saying.
23 24 25 26 27 28	HARRIS	that's when the negotiations have to happen. The announcement we can decide later. And the decision should be made, you know that's the sweet spot in the negotiations, the 15th, between the 15th and the 25th.
29	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah, 24 <sup>th</sup> .
30	HARRIS	Right.
31		

1 2 3	BLAGOJEVICH	I want you to keep thinking about the tactical play now and the, and the negotiating play.
4		(PAUSE)
5 6	BLAGOJEVICH	We, you know, then we gotta figure out the Madigan play if there is one, right?
7	HARRIS	Right.
8 9 10 11	BLAGOJEVICH	We've got Emil as a fallback but not a very inspiring thought, the best he can do for me is raise money for me. There's not much more he can do.
12 13 14 15 16	HARRIS	I was gonna go see uh, DeLeo later this afternoon out in his neck of the woods, in his ward office. Ah, should we start feeling him out about feeling Madigan out?
17 18 19 20	BLAGOJEVICH	No, I don't think so yet. I, I don't, I want to talk about it. Let's think about that. What time you gonna see DeLeo?
21	HARRIS	Oh not till like 2 or something, 2 or 3.
22		(PAUSE)
23 24	BLAGOJEVICH	You'd want him to go Madigan huh, not Jay?
25	HARRIS	Not Jay.
26	BLAGOJEVICH	I agree with you.
27		(PAUSE)
28 29 30 31	BLAGOJEVICH	Negotiating with Madigan and suggesting his daughter, and then can't make a deal with him that I'm gonna be satisfied with, right?
32	HARRIS	Right.

1 2	BLAGOJEVICH	Then I end up using my ace in the hole and I send myself. Right?
3	HARRIS	Right.
4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	BLAGOJEVICH	Among the reasons I ended up having to fall back on this position was I couldn't get the Democratic speaker and party chairman to agree that if I sent his daughter to the U.S. Senate all he had to do in exchange for that was to provide health care, pass a health care plan that Obama supports, a job's plan that Obama supports and balance the budget without raising taxes on people which is what Obama was elected on. Right?
16	HARRIS	Right.
17	BLAGOJEVICH	That's a
18 19 20 21	HARRIS	We may, we may have to take the high risk strategy and, uh, maybe if no one's coming to us we throw your name out there.
22 23	BLAGOJEVICH	I wouldn't say that. Naw, I don't do that. I mean
24	HARRIS	That's the risky strategy.
25 26	BLAGOJEVICH	you can have all kinds of editorials just fuckin', pissin' on that.
27 28 29	HARRIS	Yeah, they'll, that's the, that's, the risk is they'll blast you in the mean time
30 31 32	BLAGOJEVICH	I'm worried about them doing it if there's a delay you know? We gotta think about what we say about that.
33		(PAUSE)
34 35 36	HARRIS	You know, were just in discussion with, we're in discussions with several interested parties.

1 2	BLAGOJEVICH	That's what I'm thinking of saying. Exactly right.
3	HARRIS	We'll kinda leave it vague.
4 5 6 7	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah, what about yourself? What uh, I'm not having a discussion with myself about this. That's not one of the people I'm discussing this with.
8	HARRIS	Right.
9	BLAGOJEVICH	Huh?
10	HARRIS	Right, right, I'm not discussing
11	BLAGOJEVICH	Okay.
12 13	HARRIS	I'm not having any discussions with myself at this time.
14	BLAGOJEVICH	I'm crazy, but I'm not nuts.
15	HARRIS	(Laughs)
16	BLAGOJEVICH	(Chuckles) Right?
17	HARRIS	One second Rod.
18		* * * *
19 20 21	BLAGOJEVICH	Oh, okay I don't want to hold you up then. Alright, you'll think about this, right?
22	HARRIS	Yes, sir.
23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	BLAGOJEVICH	There's opportunity here. Now I want you to think about, you know, look, I'm gonna offer in good faith to make a good, a decision for the U.S. senator but it, it, it is not coming for free. It's gonna come, it's gotta be good stuff for the people of Illinois and good for me. That's what I'm looking at.
32	HARRIS	(UI)

1 2 3 4 5	BLAGOJEVICH	And if I can't get the right deal John, then I'll take it myself. That's kinda where I'm at. And that'll make me negotiate better and get a better deal. What do you think of that?
6 7 8 9 10	HARRIS	Right, right. And I think just publically we gotta make sure we're always talking about best interests of the state, best interests of the state
11	BLAGOJEVICH	Right.
12	HARRIS	best interests of the state
13	BLAGOJEVICH	Right.
14	HARRIS	That's kind of the mantra.
15 16 17 18	BLAGOJEVICH	Best interests of the state and somebody who can do the most good for the state and for the people of Illinois, most good for the people of Illinois.
19 20	HARRIS	Right. Not the most good for Barack, not the most good for you
21	BLAGOJEVICH	Right.
22 23	HARRIS	first and foremost, the most good for the people of Illinois.
24 25 26 27 28 29	BLAGOJEVICH	Right. But you agree, the way, the way I'm gonna negotiate this one is, I've always got the fallback as long as I cover, you know, I'm not removed, hence Emil's important. You wanna go to this thing with me tonight?
30	HARRIS	Not really, no.
31	BLAGOJEVICH	Okay.
32 33	HARRIS	I was, I was gonna watch it with the kids.
34	BLAGOJEVICH	Okay.

1 2	HARRIS	They got uh, they got a social studies assignment
3 4 5 6 7 8	BLAGOJEVICH	Yeah, yeah don't worry about it. So uh, um, yeah I mean that, you know, that's, you know, Obama you want it, fine, it's gotta be good otherwise I'm, you know, I could always take it. You know what I'm saying?
9	HARRIS	Right.
10	BLAGOJEVICH	You agree with that?
11	HARRIS	Yeah, absolutely.
12	BLAGOJEVICH	Okay, alright enjoy your breakfast.
13	HARRIS	Sure.
14	BLAGOJEVICH	Alright bye.